2.2.1 The Phonemes

At least nineteen and probably no more than twenty-five sounds (bundles of sound features) stand as contrasting units in the Kapampangan sound system. These are the five vowels (i, e, a, o, u), two semi-vowels (y, w), eleven to thirteen consonants (p, t, k, b, d, g, q, m, n, ŋ, s, l, r) and possibly three to five more for some speakers (h, č, ǰ, f, v), and a contrastive feature which is either vowel length or strong stress. In addition to these phonemes, certain sound features of pitch and juncture serve in intonation contours in distinguishing some utterances.

Chart I. The Vowels

i	u
e	o
a	

Chart II. The Consonants

p	t		k	q
b	d		g	
		(č)		
		(ǰ)		
m	n		ŋ	
	(f) s			(h)
	(v)			
	l			
	r			
				l
w	y			

Forman, Michael L. 1971. Kapampangan Grammar Notes. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.